8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

suggestions there are of the effect of latter-day conceptions in superimposing themselves upon and modifying primitive law. Before going on to this, it should be added (what does not appear from the record) first, that the society of Bugufi is symbiotic, with a pastoral Tusi aristocracy, headed by a chief, dominating a semi-servile Hutu agricultural population, who largely outnumber the Tusi: secondly, that there have in Bugufi been strong forces making for change, quite apart from European administrative control. To go into these changes in detail is quite outside the scope of the present paper. It may be briefly mentioned, however, that the relative status of Tusi and Hutu is in process of rapid alteration, owing to the opportunities afforded to the Hutu under modern conditions of acquiring independent wealth, both through their labour (chiefly in Uganda) and latterly by the establishment in Bugufi of an economic crop, coffee. This change has meant maladjustment of the tribal structure. The chief sees in the economic independence of the Hutu an encroachment on his rights: and the Hutu regard the assertion of those rights as oppression. This conflict, together with the mental immaturity of the chief and the distance of the chiefdom—four days' march—from an administrative station, made it necessary for the government to establish a check in the form of a 'Native Adviser'. This system continued until early 1930, by which time an administrative station had been opened near the chief's head-quarters, and, he having shown signs of development, it was felt that an opportunity should be afforded the chief of ruling his country without the restriction of an adviser who was really a controller most of the time. These advisers, three in all, were alien to Bugufi. The first came from Bukoba, on Lake Victoria, where he later became town headman: the second was of Arab descent, having come from Urundi to live in Bugufi, where he had been settled for many years and enjoyed considerable respect: the last, a native of really fine character, who made every effort to train the chief for his work, was a Muziba from Bukoba District. All of them were charged with the dispensing of justice according to native law and custom—subject to altered concepts of crime, already imposed by the European régime, and to a general instruction to curb the oppressiveness of the chief, an instruction the interpretation of which might depend partly on the system of native law under which the adviser had been brought

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Identification

The Ha (Abaha, Waha), with whom are included the kindred Jiji (Wajiji) and Vinza (Vinsa), are a Bantu nation of the Inter-lacustrine group similar in language and culture to the Rundi. They have a total population of 180,000 on 10,000 square miles.

Basic Economy

A dual economy -- herding by the dominant Tusi (Hima) and agriculture by the subject Bantu population. Since the reduction of cattle through Ngoni and Masai raids, the balance has shifted in favor of agriculture, which is done with the aid of irrigation. The staple crops are sorghum and maize, but other crops include bananas, manioc, sweet potatoes, groundnuts, pumpkins, legumes, and possibly millet [intimation by Meinhardt]. In addition to cattle, many goats, sheep, and chickens are kept, and also bees and pigeons. Fishing is important, and hunting is moderately productive. Trade is extensive, and there are markets.

Sex Division of Labor

The men hunt and tend the livestock. Both sexes cultivate the fields [Hore says women only among the Jiji].

Property

Livestock is the standard of wealth and prestige; salt is used as currency; slaves and beads are also valued possessions. Land is communal property, individuals enjoying usufruct rights only so long as they cultivate it.

Inheritance is inferentially patrilineal.

Social Stratification

There is mild and unimportant slavery. The pastoral Tusi (Hima) and the subject Bantu agriculturists form distinct social classes.

Marriage

Incidental mention of a bride-price.

General polygyny prevails.

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Kin Groups and Exogamy

Exogamous, non-localized, totemic patri-sibs.

Settlement Pattern

Griffiths reports scattered hamlets, each occupied by a family group; another source [probably Grant] reports palisaded villages in contrast to the scattered hamlets of the Rundi. Domes beehive huts probably prevail [Meinhardt].

Local Government

There are local sub-chiefs.

State

The Vinza have a sultan and district chiefs. The Ha are organized into a number of petty states under Tusi "sultans," who are supported by bribes, court fees, etc. They have the character of divine kings; are not allowed to die a natural death but are throttled in extremis; pandemonium reigns for a period after their death; the body is mummified and tended indefinitely by women.

Warfare

Warfare is common.

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Identification

The Ruanda (Banyaruanda, Rwanda) are a Bantu nation closely akin to the Rundi. They had a total population in 1952 of 2,133,000, representing a density of 89.7 per square kilometer. The original inhabitants were Pygmies, whose survivors are the Twa hunters. They were largely displaced by Bantu, the present Tussi agricultural caste. About four centuries ago the country was infiltrated by Nilotic pastoralists, who became the ruling and aristocratic caste of Tussi. The Tussi today speak only Bantu.

Basic Economy

Primarily agricultural, with hoe cultivation, but animal husbandry is also important and is the dominant activity of the aristocratic Tussi. The staple crops are sorghum and eleusine, but maize, sweet potatoes [important], manioc, bananas, beans, peas, and some yams, gourds, watermelons, peanuts, onions, tomatoes, and peppers are also grown. Cattle are the principal domestic animals; their meat is rarely eaten, but milk and butter are staples of the Tussi diet. Goats and sheep are also kept; mutton is not eaten, and only the Hutu eat goat meat; ewes are not milked, and goat milk is consumed only by children. The Twa specialize in hunting [their women in pottery manufacture]. Despite the lakes, little fishing is done. There are few markets.

Sex Division of Labor

Men clear land, hunt, gather honey, and herd and milk the livestock. Both sexes engage about equally in agricultural work.

Property

Cattle constitute the chief wealth and the prevailing unit of value. Eminent domain in all land and cattle is vested in the king, but private property in both is recognized. A man can acquire rights to land by inheritance, by gift from a chief, or by bringing untilled land under cultivation. Owners of land and cattle can grant usufruct rights to others; in cattle such rights consist in their milk, their flesh (when they die), and their male offspring. Collective land ownership [by lineages] is found only among the Hutu of the north.

Inheritance is patrilineal -- by sons, and in default thereof by brothers, then male ortho-cousins, then grandsons, then brothers' sons, then paternal uncles. Ordinarily a man gives part of his estate to each son when he marries; on his death the remaining sons share the rest. One son, usually the eldest, is selected by the father to succeed him as family head.

Social Stratification

Slavery formerly prevailed. Slaves were recruited from war captives, and the status was apparently non-hereditary. There are three castes: (1) the Tussi (Batuse, Batusi, Tutsi, Watuzi), a pastoral aristocracy of Nilotic descent; (2) the Hutu (Bahutu, Wahutu, Wakhutu), an agricultural peasantry of Bantu descent; (3) the Twa (Batwa), a Pygmy caste of hunters. In percentage of the population they constitute, respectively, about 10, 85, and 5 percent. The Twa are completely endogamous, and marriage between Tussi and Hutu is rare and disfavored. A feudal relationship of patron and client is common. It is established between persons of superior and inferior status, and can be terminated by either party by specifying the reasons, but otherwise the relationship is continued by the heirs of both parties. It is established by the patron entrusting the client with one or more cows and the usufruct in them. The client accompanies the patron to court or to war and renders him material aid when needed, and in return the patron renders legal and other protection and material assistance when needed, There is a royal sib.

Marriage

Virginity is demanded in a bride. Marriages are arranged by the fathers, often in infancy. Girls marry when their breasts are fully developed; boys at about 15 among the Twa, at 17-18 among the Hutu, at about 25 among the Tussi. All groups pay a bride-price; this consists of liquor among the Twa, of a cow or 12 goats among the Hutu, of 20 or more cows among the Tussi.

Polygyny is permitted, and its incidence is reported to be slightly higher than 20%. It may occur in the sororal form, but this is non-preferential and rather rare. Both the junior sororate and the levirate with the husband's eldest surviving brother are preferential. A man enjoys sexual privileges with the wives of his brothers and

his parallel and cross cousins, and also with the sister or ortho-cousin of his wife. He also has a semi-sanctioned right to sleep with his SoWi, but does so ordinarily only as a means of punishing his son. In a polygynous family each co-wife has her own hut and plot of land.

Family

The normal residential unit is an independent nuclear or polygynous family, to which domestics and dependents may be attached.

Residence

The prevailing rule is patrilocal, but there is occasionally an initial period of matrilocal residence with bride-service.

Kin Groups and Exogamy

Some of the earlier sources suggest a tendency toward local exogamy.

Marriage and sex relations are forbidden with any primary or secondary consanguineal relative and also with a parallel cousin, WiMo, or an uncle's wife, but not with SoWi. Unions with FaSiDa and MoBrDa are permitted but not looked upon with favor.

Descent is patrilineal. There are about 30 agamous, totemic, non-localized, and non-corporate patri-sibs (ubwoko), which are divided into corporate patri-lineages that are exogamous with respect to both sex relations and marriage. The lineage functions in ancestor worship and blood vengeance, and in some instances is a land-holding unit. Each lineage (inzu) has a chief and a council of adult males. Intermediate between lineage and sib is the sub-sib (umulyongo), which is exogamous and sometimes has a chief. A sub-sib consists of people who would belong to the same lineage if this had not split into geographically separate groups.

Kinship Terminology [from Maquet]

Fa--data. Mo--mama. Ch, BrCh[ms] --mwana [addr.]. So, BrSo(ms)--muhungu. Da, BrDa(ms)--mukobwa. Wi, BrWi(ms)--mugore. Br, Si, FaCh--mwene-data. Elder full or half sibling of the same sex--mukuru. Younger sibling or half sibling of the same sex--murumuna. Br(ws)--musaza. Si(ms)--mushiki.

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MoCh--mwene-mama.

FaBr--data wacu ["our Fa"]. MoBr--marume. FaSi--masenge. MoSi--mama wacu. BrCh(ws)--musengeneza. SiCh(ms)--mwishywa. GrFa--sogokuru. GrMo--nyogokuru. GrCh--mwuzukuru. FaWi, FaBrWi--muka-data. FaSiHu--mugabo wa masenge. MoSiHu--mugabo wa mama. WiFa, HuFa--data-bukwe. WiMo, HuMo--ma-bukwe. SoWi--mukazana. DaHu--mukwe. HuWi, HuBrWi--mukeba. HuBr--mugabo. WiSiHu--musanzire. BrWi(ws), SiHu(ws), HuSi, WiSi, WiBr, WiBrWi--muramu.

Cross-cousin--mubyara. Sibling terms extended to parallel cousins.

Joking relationships exist between grandparent and grandchild and between cross-cousins of opposite sex. A man shows respect toward his FaSiHu, MoSiHu, WiFa, WiMo; a woman toward HuFa and HuMo. There is also considerable restraint between MoBr and SiSo. Marriage and sex relations are forbidden with WiMo and WiBrWi.

Settlement Pattern

The Ruanda live in neighborhoods of dispersed homesteads. Only the royal capital approaches the composition of a village. Dwellings are thatched huts of beehive shape. A homestead consists of three or more of them in a circular enclosure surrounded by banana plantations.

Community Organization

Lineages seem to have been localized as clans, at least formerly.

Local Government

Each neighborhood has a headman, who collects taxes and organizes corvees. He is often [if not usually] a lineage head.

State

Lineages are aggregated into "hills," each with a single sub-chief. "Hills," in turn, are aggregated into 70-90 administrative districts or provinces. Each of these has two chiefs, who are independent of each other -- a land chief who collects taxes in agricultural products and a cattle chief who collects taxes in livestock. Hutu and even Twa may be hill chiefs, and Hutu may be land chiefs, but only Tussi can be cattle chiefs. In general, Tussi fill most of the hierarchical administrative offices, which siphon off roughly two thirds of all taxes raised, the rest going to the king. The Ruanda are organized in a strong state with an absolute monarch (mwami)

with divine attributes. The king is supreme judge, maintains a court in a capital village, and has his symbol a sacred drum. Ranking with him is a Queen-Mother (umugabekazi), the king's own mother or a substitute if she is dead, who has her own court, herds, and clients. The king is assisted by a number of high dignitaries (abiru), who are concerned largely with ritual and protocol. They do not form a council, but are exempted from taxes. Their offices are hereditary from Fa to So, but the king may depose an incumbent and appoint his son. There is also a council of major chiefs, of whom one is a sort of prime minister.

Warfare

The king has a standing army consisting of several regiments, each with 4-5 companies of 150-200 men each. There are defensive and offensive encampments on the borders.

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Identification

The Rundi (Barundi, Warundi) are a Bantu nation occupying the Belgian-administered country of Urundi. Their language is closely akin to the speech of the Ruanda, Nyambo, and Zinza. In 1943, the Rundi and Ruanda together numbered 3,830,000, of whom roughly half were Rundi, living on 20,115 square miles.

Basic Economy

Primarily agricultural, with hoe cultivation, use of animal manure and ashes as fertilizer, and considerable irrigation. The staple crops are bananas and beans (Phaseolus vulgaris), but peas (Pisum sativum), maize, and eleusine are also important. Lesser crops include peanuts, sorghum, yams, onions, sweet potatoes, manioc, pumpkins, gourds, and arrowroot. Animal husbandry is the chief occupation of the aristocratic Tussi. The chief animals are cattle, but goats, sheep, dogs, and chickens are also kept. Milk and blood are drunk, butter is made (for anointing the body), but meat is rarely eaten and chickens and eggs practically never. Hunting is done only by the Twa; the Tussi and Hutu abjure game. Fishing is done on the lakes and rivers, but elsewhere only by the Twa. Gathering is done by all groups, but is important only among the Twa. There is some internal trade in wax, hides, and salt, and external trade in palm oil is conducted on Lake Tanganyika. There are markets.

Sex Division of Labor

Men hunt, clear land, and do all the herding and milking. Tussi and Twa men do no agriculture, but Hutu men assist the women to a substantial extent.

Property

Land belongs to the king and is allocated by sub-chiefs to individuals, who hold heritable usufruct subject to revocation for misuse, tax delinquence, or sometimes mere whimsey. Water rights are distributed by district chiefs. Movable property is individually owned, subject to occasional confiscation by chiefs.

Inheritance is patrilineal, usually by primogeniture. The ElSo, or another son designated by the father, inherits most of the property, but a certain amount is divided among the younger sons.

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Brothers inherit in default of sons.

Social Stratification

Society is divided into three ethnic castes: (1) the aristocratic pastoral Tussi, who are of Nilotic origin; (2) the agricultural Bantu commoners or Hutu; (3) the Twa, Pygmy hunters and gatherers who do a little agriculture. These castes tend toward endogamy, though there is some Tussi-Hutu intermarriage. At the apex of the society is a royal lineage, and at the bottom there was formerly some sporadic slavery. As among the neighboring Ruanda, a special client-patron relationship with reciprocal obligations is important.

Marriage

The Tussi and Hutu require a bride-price, but the Twa do not. It consists mainly of cattle among the Tussi, of hoes among the Hutu.

Polygyny occurs exclusively in the non-sororal form. It is favored, but in actual fact is very rare among the Twa, relatively uncommon among the Hutu, and not particularly frequent among the Tussi. The first wife is chief wife, but each co-wife has her own hut. Both junior levirate and junior sororate are preferential. Secondary marriages are forbidden with WiMo but permitted with SoWi.

Family

The residential unit, occupying a household or kraal, is a monogamous or polygynous family, though patrilineally related families commonly reside nearby. Patrilocal extended families are reported for the Twa.

Residence

Patrilocality is the norm, but neolocality also occurs.

Kin Groups and Exogamy

Marriage is forbidden with any primary or secondary consanguineal kinsmen and with a parallel cousin, but cross-cousin marriage is preferential.

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There are exogamous totemic patri-sibs, presumably divided into lineages. Among the ruling Tussi, sibs tend toward endogamy rather than exogamy.

Kinship Terminology [from Bourgeois]

Fa--data, so, se. Mo--mama, nyoko, nyina. So, SiSo(ws)--umuhungu. Da, SiDa(ws)--umukobwa. Hu--umugabo. Wi--umugore. Co-wife, HuBrWi--umukeba. Elder sibling of same sex--mukuru. Younger sibling of same sex--murumuna. Br (ws)--musaza. Si(ms)--mushiki. FaWi--mukadata.

FaBr--sewabo. MoBr--inarume. FaSi--senge. MoSi--mamawacu. SiCh(ms)--umwishwa. BrCh(ws)--umusengezana. BrSo(ms)--umhungwacu. GrFa--sogokuru. GrMo--nyogokuru. GrCh--abuzukuru. WiFa, HuFa--databukwe. WiMo, HuMo--mabukwe. DaHu--umukwe. SoWi--umukazana. SiHu, WiBr, WiSi, WiBrWi--muramwanje. HuBr--umugabwacu. HuSi--muramukazacu. BrWi(ms)--umugoracu. BrWi(ws)--muramukazanje. WiSiHu--bendahamwe. HuSiHu--muramwacu.

Cross-cousin--umuvyara. Parallel cousin terms are derived from those for siblings.

Settlement Pattern

Except among the Twa, who live in migratory bands, the prevailing settlement pattern is a neighborhood of dispersed homesteads. Concentrated villages, however, are found in Uzige and on Lake Tanganyika. Dwellings are of beehive shape--nearly hemispherical--and are made of thatch laid on plaited reeds over a wooden frame. In wealthier families they are grouped in compounds.

Community Organization

There is possibly some tendency toward lineage localization.

Local Government

Each community has a headman and a council of dignitaries. A headman may be replaced by a district chief, but succession is normally patrilineal.

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State

The Rundi are organized in an autocratic feudal state under a divine king, who is also chief priest. The royal emblem is a drum. The king is assisted by a supreme council, a chief minister, and various specialized officials, and his mother exerts important influence at court. The state is administratively divided, for tax collection and other purposes, into provinces and districts, each with chiefs. Provincial governors are members of the royal lineage or of the four other lineages into which the king may marry [he may not marry the daughter of a royal prince]. Most offices are filled with Tussi, but district chiefs are occasionally Hutu. Succession to all offices is patrilineal, and usually by primogeniture.

Warfare

Internal warfare is common, especially strife over succession to the kingship. Neither cannibalism nor headhunting is practiced. The Rundi were formerly almost perpetually at war with the Ruanda.

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